

Memorandum

**TO: RULES AND OPEN GOVERN-
MENT COMMITTEE**

FROM: Jane Light

SUBJECT: SEE BELOW

DATE: January 9, 2008

Approved

Christine J. Shipp

Date

1/11/08

**COUNCIL DISTRICT: Citywide
SNI AREA: N/A**

**SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT RELATING TO INTERNET FILTERING PROPOSAL
AND COMPUTER USE AT SAN JOSE PUBLIC LIBRARIES**

RECOMMENDATION

Approve status report for Library workplan relating to Internet filtering proposal as approved at November 14, 2007 Rules and Open Government Committee.

OUTCOME

The Library Department will provide an update to the Rules Committee on progress since November, 2007 relating to policy review research and analysis, including review of options relating to filtering Internet access at San Jose Public Library branches and the King Library.

BACKGROUND

On October 24, 2007, Councilmember Pete Constant asked the Rules Committee to consider a policy change for the Library Department that would include installing Internet filters and software on all public access computers.

Administration reported back on November 14, 2007 with responses to specific Council questions from the October 24, 2007 Rules Committee meeting, as well as with a policy review plan and workload assessment to gather more information for City Council prior to Council making a final policy decision.

This is a status report on activities performed by staff between November 14, 2007 and January 7, 2008. In addition, this report responds to questions Councilmember Judy Chirco asked about the current status and conditions at the San Jose libraries regarding Internet use and customer behavior.

ANALYSIS

The purpose of this memorandum is to provide an update on Administration's policy review and analysis which is currently underway. The information provided in this memo covers a period of approximately six weeks since last action by the Rules Committee. In addition, this memo responds to Councilmember Chirco's question about the current status.

1. WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATUS AT KING LIBRARY AND BRANCHES?

The San José Public Library has a number of policies and practices in place to proactively and efficiently handle public behavior in the library. These policies help create an atmosphere that is pleasant and welcoming for all of our users, and the policies are enforced by well-trained and dedicated library professionals. San José's award winning library system is among the busiest in the United States. In fiscal year 2006-07, a total of 7,639,614 visitors checked out or renewed 14,060,019 items and logged into library computers 2,109,135 times.

Limited numbers of computers are available to the public in our eighteen library buildings. These computers are designated for various age groups: 12 years old and under (Children's Area), ages 12-18 years (Teen Area), and ages 12 through adult (Technology Center). The computers are located in sections of the library that are designed with materials and furnishings that are appropriate to the ages described. Most library buildings have wireless Internet access. Adults are not permitted to use their laptop computers in the children's or teen rooms unless they are working with a child.

Complaints about behavior of other customers while using computers are seldom received, but if so, are always acted on immediately by SJPL's professional librarians and paraprofessional staff. Any verbal complaints to staff are dealt with immediately, usually by asking the computer user to refrain from viewing sites that others find offensive and interfere with their ability to comfortably use the library. The computer user may also be asked to use a privacy screen or move to a computer in a less conspicuous location. This action by library staff resolves customer concerns in a prompt manner, and this intervention would continue to be expected regardless of the filter environment in the library system. Staff members are always present in the public areas of our libraries to assist customers with their needs, monitor facility issues and customer behavior, and immediately respond to any customer complaints.

The joint King Library has many more public-access computers available to support San José State University's academic research environment at that facility and because the King Library serves as the City's main library, it holds the bulk of research resources. The Children's Area on the first floor of the King Library is not located near these research areas. Adults not accompanied by a child are not permitted to loiter or otherwise use the children's and teen areas, unless they are using library books and collections that are housed in the children's and teen areas. Children's Area staff proactively ensure that adults are not in the area without good reason.

Branch managers and supervisors of the branches and units of the San José Public Library monitor the behavior and actions of customers using our facilities. There is no tolerance of illegal or inappropriate behaviors, and all necessary measures are taken to stop any such

January 9, 2008

Subject: STAFF UPDATE-INTERNET FILTERING AND COMPUTER USE AT LIBRARIES

Page 3

behaviors immediately, including the suspension of some offenders. Staff will contact the San José Police Department or San José State University Police Department when necessary. Currently, SJPL has one Security Officer position available to cover all branch libraries, responding primarily to after-school behavior concerns, and various gang issues at library branches. The security officer also gives advice to staff at branches and reviews incident reports. Branch library staff are trained to call the Police Department for assistance when security is not available. Inadvertent viewing of adult materials has never been a significant issue in the daily operation of the library system.

At King Library, 13.5 FTE Community Service Specialists provide basic security, with a minimum of four staff on duty at any time during open hours. They are trained to respond to a variety of situations and monitor the numerous on-site security cameras. When supervisory intervention is necessary, staff call upon two full-time sworn SJSUPD police officers who provide full coverage for the open hours of the King Library facility. These positions are funded jointly by the City and University to provide security to the King Library. This amount of coverage is significantly greater than the security officer coverage provided by the City at the old Dr. King Main Library prior to moving to the joint facility in 2003.

Taking into account the millions of visitors annually, inappropriate sexual behavior cases are few and far between. Allegations have included a rape in the King Library; however, UPD verified that there has never been a rape in the library. NO cases of arrests by SJPd at branch libraries are recorded for fiscal year 2006-07. There have been only three arrest reports in the past two fiscal years at branch libraries for incidents of a sexual nature. There have been twenty-nine arrests by SJSUPD at King Library in the past two years for disorderly conduct/lewd acts, sex offenses, or other issues of a sexual nature. The on-site UPD officers take immediate action for any incident of illegal activity. These represent fewer than 5% of the total arrests and citations made at the King Library during that period. In a large public building with more than 2.5 million visitors annually, the King Library is fortunate to have onsite law enforcement available during open hours. It is fair to conclude that branch libraries and King Library are safe public places.

My career as a library director began long before the Internet. Lewd acts, although infrequent, have always occurred in public and public academic libraries and staff have been trained to be alert and respond appropriately. Internet access has not materially increased such incidents and there is no identifiable causative link between Internet access and illegal sexual behavior.

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January 9, 2008

Subject: STAFF UPDATE-INTERNET FILTERING AND COMPUTER USE AT LIBRARIES

Page 4

A summary of King Library and the branch libraries is shown below.

LOCATION By fiscal year	FORMAL WRITTEN COMPLAINTS about pornography on computers	POLICE ARRESTS re: sex crimes TOTAL	POLICE ARRESTS re: sex crimes @ computers	COMPUTER RESERVATIONS # of annual sessions	GATE COUNT # of annual visitors
King Library					
2005-06	10*	13	1	732,163	2,632,821
2006-07	11*	16	12	731,239	2,628,273
SJPL Branch Libraries					
2005-06	0	3	0	1,111,324	4,683,569
2006-07	1**	0	0	1,377,896	5,011,341

* submitted on customer suggestion/complaint form

** documented phone call

POLICY REVIEW WORKPLAN STATUS REPORT

Data Gathering and Analysis (November 2007-April 2008)

1. Identify and Research Options

City staff has identified various options for Internet use and the final report to Council will include a detailed discussion and analysis including operational and cost impacts of alternatives. The options presented for final consideration will have been reviewed by SJSU's Library Dean, University Administration, and the University Library Board. The City Attorney's Office will prepare an analysis of any proposed policy changes to be considered by City Council. Each of the options identified for customer behavior management and use of Internet content control software will be reviewed by the City Attorney to address the requirements of the Joint Library Operating agreement and other possible legal challenges.

2. Review Filtering Policies and Implementation Elsewhere

Ten major urban library systems are being surveyed about policy, operational, and technical impacts and costs to implement Internet filtering. SJPL staff will conduct telephone interviews with multiple staff in the ten systems, in most cases, based on expertise and experience in each of the three subject areas. Because most other libraries are now providing WiFi access, they will be asked about their policies and how WiFi relates. The survey should be complete by early February.

Ten Northern California library systems were surveyed in March, 2007; the reconfirmed data is indicated in the table below.

Entity	Children's Area Access Filtered?		Adult/General Area Access Filtered?		User-based removal of filter?	Staff-based removal of filter?	If WiFi available, is it filtered?	Use of Privacy Screens	
	computer	none	computer	none	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N	permanent	available
Alameda County	X			X	-	-			X
Oakland		X		X	-	-			X
San Francisco		X		X	-	-			X
Mountain View	X			X	-	-	No	X	
Palo Alto		X		X	-	-	No		X
Sacramento	X		X		N	Y	Yes		X
San Mateo		X		X	-	-			
Santa Clara City		X		X	-	-			
Santa Clara County	X		X		Y	N	Yes	X	
Sunnyvale	parental permission required	X		X	-	-		X	X

3. Test Filter Programs

Several content control software programs, selected based on other library systems' usage, apparent flexibility, and prior public review, will be analyzed, tested, and compared by a team of professional librarians, including a representative of the San Jose State University Library, during January, 2008. The research by staff will include testing results from a set of consistent search terms used on each of the filter programs. City IT Department staff will review and consult with the Library Department regarding this test.

Discussion and Community Outreach (Present-February 2008)

On November 26, 2007, background information about Councilmember Constant's proposal and the current policies of San Jose Public Library were presented to the Youth Commission. The Commission will have an action item on its January 28, 2008 agenda.

Information was presented by SJPL staff at the December 12, 2007 Library Commission, and comments were made by a number of community members. Councilmember Oliverio, the Council liaison to the Library Commission, recommended that all vendors of filter software be invited to demonstrate their products to staff. The Library Commission plans to make a recommendation to City Council after its February 14, 2008 meeting.

Outreach by Library staff was made to community agencies to provide information about the proposal, seek input and information, and welcome questions. Agencies contacted included the

HONORABLE CHAIR OF THE RULES COMMITTEE

January 9, 2008

Subject: STAFF UPDATE-INTERNET FILTERING AND COMPUTER USE AT LIBRARIES

Page 6

Santa Clara County Public Health Department, Kaiser Permanente Health Education Services, the YWCA, Billy DeFrank GLBT Community Center, San Jose State University Police Department, the San José Police Department's Internet Crimes Against Children (ICAC) Unit, the ACLU, and San Jose State University's Student Health and Counseling Center.

Staff met with the SJSU Library Dean, Ruth Kifer, and SJSU's Library Board to share information, due to King Library's unique situation. The San José State University Academic Senate passed Resolution SS-F07-5 on November 19, 2007 which affirmed San José State University's commitment to complete academic freedom in the use of library resources, and

"call[s] upon the City of San José to honor the commitment it made when it joined the University in undertaking to create our unique and valuable joint library, promising to "honor the current policy of both the University and the City to provide for unrestricted access to all Library Material within the Library Collections and services within the Joint Library for all Members of the General Public and the University Users."

As options are identified and researched, staff will continue to meet with the SJSU Library Board and SJSU Administration.

Interim Status Report to Rules Committee

This memorandum is the Interim Status Report.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

This report is submitted for the Rules Committee's approval. It is anticipated that the research and analysis identified in this report will be completed for final Council action in March/April, 2008.

PUBLIC OUTREACH/INTEREST

This memorandum will be posted to the Rules and Open Government Committee Agenda via the City's website. As described above, a broad outreach effort to solicit comment and input to any policy change to the current computer use policy at San José Public Library has been taken, despite the fact that, at this time, there is no relevant public outreach Criterion.

☐ **Criterion 1:** Requires Council action on the use of public funds equal to \$1 million or greater. (Required: Website Posting)

☐ **Criterion 2:** Adoption of a new or revised policy that may have implications for public health, safety, quality of life, or financial/economic vitality of the City. (Required: E-mail and Website Posting)

☐ **Criterion 3:** Consideration of proposed changes to service delivery, programs, staffing that may have impacts to community services and have been identified by staff, Council or a Community group that requires special outreach. (Required: E-mail, Website Posting, Community Meetings, Notice in appropriate newspapers)

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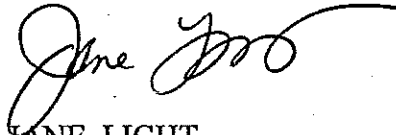
January 9, 2008

Subject: STAFF UPDATE-INTERNET FILTERING AND COMPUTER USE AT LIBRARIES

Page 7

COORDINATION

This memorandum has been coordinated with the City Attorney's Office and San José State University Library.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jane Light", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

JANE LIGHT
Director, Library Department

For questions please contact Jane Light, Director, at (408) 808-2150.

-----Original Message-----

From: D Cauble [mailto:dcauble@earthlink.net]
Sent: Sunday, December 30, 2007 7:48 PM
To: mayoremail@sanjoseca.gov; judy.chirco@sanjoseca.gov
Subject: Library Internet Filters

Dear Mayor Reed and Councilmember Chirco,

It's been a long time since I've written to my elected representatives, but the possibility that the City Council might approve internet filters on library computers is what has finally caused me to do it.

I am vehemently opposed to any such restriction on access to information in our city libraries. This strong opinion derives from my personal views about what being a free American means, as well as my own experience with public libraries.

As Chuck knows, I am a graduate of Stanford Law School. I attribute that in large part to the access to information I found in the Fresno County public libraries as a young person living in the "boondocks" of the Central Valley. Of course, that was long before the internet. I read books. Throughout junior high and high school, I walked to the Bookmobile every Monday afternoon and brought home a tall stack of books, as many as I could carry. I read everything I could get my hands on. We did not have books in our home, partially due to economics (my mom was a single parent) and partially because we had no tradition of buying books in our family. I loved going to the bookmobile and choosing whatever I cared to read, with no adult telling me what I should or shouldn't access. Of course, the librarians were happy to help me find an author I had previously enjoyed, but other than that, the world was open to me in that book-filled motor home. One of my strongest memories is of choosing and reading books by James Baldwin. Coming from the country and a conservative farm family, who would ever have led me to read novels and memoirs by a gay African-American male? (Of course, at the time I didn't know he was gay ----). That kind of free access to ideas so different from my own upbringing is what I credit with my intellectual curiosity, and the fact that I was the first person in my family to go to college, and then on to law school.

I read an article in the online version of the Merc just now. It says that young adults are the biggest users of libraries, and not just for the internet. It's wonderful to think that there are lots of kids today having the same experiences I had at the library. And once they get there, they have access to all kinds of print material as well as the internet. As it should be. I haven't seen an internet filter yet that didn't get in the way of free access to legitimate, non-pornographic information. It has happened to me at work.

Please don't squelch the free access to information that makes our city and our country great. People around the world are going through extraordinary measures to get around blocks on internet information, in order to fight for freedom. Repressive regimes are quick to squelch access to the internet. Our government should not go there, even with the best intentions. Let's not keep our own

young people from going wherever a free library system takes them.

Respectfully,

Debbie Cauble
1564 Garden Glen Way
San Jose



January 9, 2008

Members of the San Jose City Council
200 East Santa Clara Street
San Jose, California 95113

Re: City Internet Access Policy

Dear Members of the San Jose City Council:

I write to express the concern of the ACLU of Northern California regarding the City Internet Access Policy proposed by Councilmember Constant (hereafter Constant Proposal). As I understand it, the Constant Proposal would require blocking software on all San Jose library computers. Adults would have no unqualified right to ask for and obtain unfiltered internet access; young people would have to obtain parental consent when they seek access to material that is blocked, even though the material is not actually "harmful to minors" or otherwise unlawful.

All blocking software systems inevitably block materials that adults have a First Amendment right to access through the internet. They also frequently erroneously block materials that minors have a First Amendment right to access. Accordingly, a policy that denies adults unfiltered access to the Internet would violate that adult's First Amendment rights and would be subject to legal challenge. Similar concerns are raised if minors are denied access to protected material.

Because City of San Jose Libraries do not receive federal funds, they are under no obligation to use blocking software, and such software is not currently in use in the City's libraries. However, privacy screens are available at all libraries and staff have the authority to require that a patron use the screen. (Internet Access and Use Policy, Rule 7).

The existing internet procedures appear to be working well. According to the *San Jose Mercury News*, a review of library records by San Jose City Library Director, Jane Light, reveals that internet use at the libraries is very high and complaints about pornography are extremely low. There were over 700,000 internet sessions at the downtown King Library last year and only ten complaints. There were a total of three complaints last year from all eighteen of the branch libraries combined. In contemplating a change in internet policy, the City of San Jose should carefully examine whether any changes to the Internet Access and Use Policy are necessary. If any modifications are drafted, the City must take extreme care not to violate the constitutional rights of adults and young people in the community or risk being subject to legal challenge.

1) The Constant Proposal For Determining What Material Should Be Blocked is Unconstitutionally Vague and Overbroad

Outside a few narrowly defined categories, "the First Amendment bars the government from dictating what we see or read or speak or hear." *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition*, 535 U.S. 234, 245 (2002) (hereafter "*Free Speech Coalition*"). Unlike the narrow categories of obscenity or child pornography, sexually explicit speech, for example, is entitled to full constitutional protection as to adults. *United States v. Playboy Entertainment Group, Inc.*, 529 U.S. 803, 811(2000) (hereafter "*Playboy Entertainment*"); *Reno v. American Civil Liberties Union*, 521 U.S. 844, 874 (1997); *Sable Communications v. FCC*, 492 U.S. 115, 126 (1989) (hereafter "*Sable*").

January 9, 2008

Page 2

The Constant Proposal does not limit itself to material falling into one of these narrow categories. Compare *United States v. American Library Association*, 539 U.S. 194 (2003) (upholding Children's Internet Protection Act ("CIPA") because adults may obtain unfiltered access). Instead, the Constant Proposal states that "all materials deemed objectionable" may be filtered and provides that "users who encounter objectionable materials may submit a request to the Library for those sites to be filtered."

"Objectionable" is an undefined and indefinable term that covers a great deal of constitutionally protected material. Moreover, as used in the Constant Proposal, it is more than simply subjective; it gives every library patron a veto over the material available to others, based on that patron's subjective sensibilities and prejudices. Material may be blocked because of its political or artistic content, not to mention the wide array of controversial topics ranging from abortion to gun control that may be objectionable to one or members of the library community. The rights of all to constitutionally protected information may not be curtailed on the basis that it is "objectionable."

2) Internet Blocking Software Inevitably Blocks Constitutionally Protected Material

The Constant Proposal suggests that the San Jose Libraries could implement a "basic filter" for adult patrons that would block only material that constitutes child pornography or that is obscene. This is simply not the case. Blocking software, even when intended to block access only to material that is obscene or that constitutes child pornography, nevertheless blocks vast amounts of protected speech. In part, that is because a software program is simply incapable of making the fine legal distinctions made in the courtroom as to whether material falls into one of these categories. Over-blocking also results from more systemic flaws in the way either machines or humans make decisions as to whether material should be blocked. This is a problem that has not gone away over the years. A June 2006 Consumer Reports article on filtering software had this to say:

As we found in our tests in 2001, the best blockers today tended to block many sites they should not.

Informative sites are snubbed, too. The best porn blockers were heavy-handed against sites about health issues, sex education, civil rights, and politics. For example, seven products blocked KeepAndBearArms.com, a site advocating gun owners' rights. Most unwarranted blocking occurred with sites featuring sex education or gender-related issues. Some drug-education sites were blocked. For example, four products blocked the National Institute on Drug Abuse, part of the federal government's National Institutes of Health.

Research can be a headache. These programs may impede older children doing research for school reports. Seven block the entire results page of a Google or Yahoo search if some links have objectionable words in them. AOL, KidsNet, Norton Internet Security, and Safe Eyes allow searches to be completed by displaying the entire results page or blocking only offending words.

The full article is available at <http://www.consumerreports.org/cro/electronics-computers/resource-center/internet-filtering-software-605/overview/index.htm>.

The problems inherent in all filtering software systems are further compounded when such systems are used to block material that is "harmful to minors." By definition, material falling into this category is material that *adults* have a First Amendment right to see and read. *Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844 (1997).

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January 9, 2008
Page 3

3) The Proposed Internet Policy Lacks Constitutional Safeguard Providing Adults with Unqualified Ability to Obtain Unfiltered Access

In *United States v. American Library Association*, 539 U.S. 194, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the CIPA statute *only* because it read the statute as requiring libraries to honor requests from adults for unfiltered access to the internet. Justice Kennedy and Justice Breyer, whose votes were necessary to obtaining a majority upholding the statute, made this clear. See *id.* at 214-15 (Kennedy, J., concurring in the judgment); *id.* at 219-220 (Breyer, J. concurring in the judgment). Significantly, neither Justice Kennedy nor Justice Breyer limited his view on the matter to providing only a qualified ability to obtain unfiltered access. See also *id.* at 209 (plurality opinion interpreting statute as not requiring adult patrons to provide a reason for asking to have filtering software turned off).

This view is consistent with earlier decisions in which the Supreme Court has held that adult access to internet content may not be limited to materials that are only fit for children. See, e.g., *Ashcroft v. American Civil Liberties Union*, 542 U.S. 656, 665 (2004) ("A statute that 'effectively suppresses a large amount of speech that adults have a constitutional right to receive and to address to one another . . . is unacceptable if less restrictive alternatives would be at least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted to serve.'" (quoting *Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844, 874 (1997)); see also, *Denver Area Ed. Telecommunications Consortium, Inc. v. FCC*, 518 U.S. 727, 759 (1996) (televised content); *Sable Communications v. FCC*, 492 U.S. 115, 128 (1989) (telephone communications); *Bolger v. Youngs Drug Products Corp.*, 463 U.S. 60, 73 (1983) (mailed advertisements); *Butler v. Michigan*, 352 U.S. 380, 383 (1957) (books). The California Courts have also struck down provisions as overbroad which are aimed at protecting young people from material that is "harmful to minors," but in operation deny adults and young people access to "items which they have an unfettered constitutional right to enjoy." *American Booksellers Assoc., Inc. v. Superior Court*, 129 Cal. App. 3d 197, 206 (1982) (striking down city ordinance as overbroad that prohibited sale of sexually explicit material to minors).

Denying adults and young people access to constitutionally protected information is precisely what would happen if the City implements the Constant Proposal. It sets up impermissible hurdles for adults in requesting that a site be temporarily or permanently unblocked and gives improper discretionary authority to individuals who are not trained in the nuances of the law.

Under the Constant Proposal, in order to obtain temporary access to a blocked website, an adult must make a request to a library employee, who will then refer this request to an IT specialist on duty. Not only may this process be slow and inefficient, but even after the IT specialist is notified, the site is not unblocked. The Constant Proposal gives discretion to the IT specialist to "determine that the site is appropriate for viewing (i.e. falls outside the appropriate filtering categories)."

For an adult to permanently unblock a site, he or she must submit a written request to the library, which will then be forwarded to the software blocking company. This process may also be extremely slow and gives discretion to the software filtering company to determine whether the site should remain blocked. The software filtering company's decision may be appealed to a team of library employees, but it is the company that has the "final" decision as to whether an individual will be able to obtain access to material, some of which may be constitutionally protected. The City of San Jose would be more than ill-advised to rely on the determinations of IT specialists and the software company about whether the constitutional rights of citizens are being infringed and legal challenges would be supported.

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January 9, 2008

Page 4

4) The Constant Proposal Will Interfere with the Ability of Young People to Access Essential Information

The Constant Proposal will also have an extremely detrimental effect on the ability of young people in the community to access essential information. The blocking software and the procedures in the Constant Proposal will institute serious barriers between young people and important information about issues such as personal health, sexual or physical abuse, and LGBT issues.

The Constant Proposal requires young people to obtain the consent of a parent or legal guardian in order to have a site unblocked and allows parents or legal guardians, when in possession of the minor's library card, to obtain information about a young person's internet usage. This means that young people searching for information on a range of sensitive issues may no longer view the library as a safe place in which information can be obtained in confidence. LGBT teenagers whose sexual orientation is not known to their parents cannot turn to the internet for fear that their parents will discover this information. Similarly, young people may avoid accessing what may well be life-saving information on any number of important issues ranging from contraception to help with a substance abuse problem, rather than risk the wrath of their parents. The library has traditionally been a place where young and old alike can seek information knowing that they can do so privately and anonymously. The Constant Proposal works a fundamental and unjustified change in the role of the library as a safe haven for those in need of information.

Blocking software will also make it more difficult for young people to use the library to access important information for schoolwork and for their families. According to Consumer Reports, filters often block more sites than they should, including sites necessary for older students to complete research assignments. In many families, parents need the help of their teenage children in accessing information on the internet, for a variety of reasons. As more and more information about issues such as healthcare and public benefits moves online, blocking software may make it harder for young people to access necessary information for their families, particularly for families that cannot afford internet access at home. Blocking software simply exacerbates the problems of the Digital Divide.

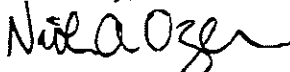
5) The Constant Proposal Has No Place in the City of San Jose's Libraries

The *San Jose Mercury News* Editorial of October 24, 2007, stated it well:

A decade ago, the San Jose City Council wisely rejected a proposal to install filters on computers at city libraries to prevent viewing pornography over the Internet. Filtering was a bad idea then, and still is. Responding to a minor nuisance at the downtown library by dampening the rights of inquiry and speech of all patrons at every city library is an unacceptable trade-off.

The City Council should reject the Constant Proposal and continue to ensure that San Jose City Libraries are a place where the community can expand its intellectual and cultural horizons. As Justice Kennedy noted in *Free Speech Coalition*, 535 U.S. at 253, "[t]he right to think is the beginning of freedom, and speech must be protected from the government because speech is beginning of thought."

Sincerely,



Nicole A. Ozer, Esq.

Technology and Civil Liberties Policy Director, ACLU of Northern California

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